

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 151843Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 602

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9475

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: TEXT OF CZECH STATEMENT IN PLENARY OF  
NOVEMBER 15, 1973

1. INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF CZECH STATEMENT IN PLENARY  
SESSION OF NOVEMBER 15, 1973 FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION, LIKE THE OTHER DELEGATIONS FROM  
THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, CAME TO VIENNA WITH THE INTENTION OF CON-  
DUCTING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER OF REDUCING ARMED FORCES  
AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, A FACT WHICH WE CLEARLY STATED IN  
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OUR OPENING STATEMENT, AND WHICH FULLY CORRESPONDS TO THE UNDER-  
STANDING REACHED DURING THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS.

WE ARRIVED AT THESE TALKS WITH THE UNANIMOUS DETERMINATION OF

UNDERTAKING FROM THE VERY BEGINNING WITH ALL SERIOUSNESS AND RESPONSIBILITY A SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THIS TASK, A DIFFICULT BUT A NOBLE ONE ON BEHALF OF ALL PEOPLES. THE CURRENT FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE IN EUROPE, AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLES TO COMPLEMENT POLITICAL DETENTE IN OUR CONTINENT WITH MILITARY DETENTE, OBLIGE US ALL TO GIVE CONTENT TO THESE POSSIBILITIES WITH REAL MEASURES AND TO OBTAIN SPECIFIC RESULTS.

THEREFORE, THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH ARE POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS, BEING GUIDED BY THESE LOFTY AIMS, AND BASING THEMSELVES ON THE RESULTS OF THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS IN VIENNA, HAVE DECIDED TO SUBMIT A DRAFT PROPOSAL ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH REFLECTS THE APPROACH OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO THE SOLUTION OF THIS IMPORTANT TASK. OUR MUTUAL DRAFT PROPOSAL IS CLEAR AND COMPREHENSIVE, AND CORRESPONDS TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES.

IN THE COMMUNIQUE AFTER THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS AN UNDERSTANDING WAS RECORDED STATING THAT: "DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS THE QUESTION OF THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE" WILL BE EXAMINED. THE SOLUTION OF THIS IMPORTANT TASK IS THE VERY BASIS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND WE MUST CONCENTRATE ON IT OUR FULL ATTENTION. WE ARE THEREFORE SURPRISED THAT IN THE PRESENTATIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO GIVE A ONE-SIDED INTERPRETATION TO CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE COMMUNIQUE IN ORDER TO CAST DOUBT ON THE UNDERSTANDING ALREADY ACHIEVED. MOREOVER, ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE TO INTRODUCE INTO THE DISCUSSIONS CERTAIN NEW ELEMENTS AS WELL--FOR INSTANCE, A PROPOSAL MADE BY THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE USA TO DEVELOP THE SO CALLED "STABILIZATION MEASURES" WHICH, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE COMMUNIQUE, BUT DISTRACT US FROM THE SOLUTION OF THE MAIN TASKS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION IS READY TO STUDY AND TO CONSIDER ALL CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS AIMED AT FURTHERING THE ATTAINMENT OF A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONFIDENTIAL

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ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. ALSO, WE LIKE THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENT-

ATIVE OF THE USA, DO NOT CONSIDER IT PRUDENT OR USEFUL TO SPECULATE IN OUR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF ANY OF THE SIDES OR TO ENGAGE IN AN ANALYSIS OF THE REASONS BEHIND THE HISTORICALLY DETERMINED SITUATION IN EUROPE.

THE DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AS ALL HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE, HAVE FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE TALKS IN VIENNA NOT ASCRIBED TO ANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS OR ANY GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS ANY INTENTIONS OR DESIGNS. WE ARE THEREFORE SURPRISED THAT CERTAIN REPRESENTATIVES OF WESTERN COUNTRIES, AS FOR INSTANCE, THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF GREAT BRITAIN, HAVE THOUGHT FIT

TO CAST DOUBT ON THE DEFENSIVE NATURE OF THE ARMED FORCES OF A GROUP OF COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH AN APPROACH CANNOT, AS WE SEE IT, HELP THAT ATMOSPHERE OF COOPERATION WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE RESOLUTION OF OUR DIFFICULT TASK.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, AS ONE OF THE CO-AUTHORS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT THAT HAS BEEN TABLED ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, IS OF THE OPINION THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS COULD MOVE AHEAD AT A FASTER RATE IF WE WERE TO CONCENTRATE OUR ATTENTION ON THE STUDY OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS. IT WAS THIS IDEA THAT GUIDED THE DELEGATIONS OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO PRESENT THE COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT WHICH WAS SUBMITTED LAST WEEK AND CLEARLY EXPLAINED BY THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION, AMBASSADOR O.N. KHLESTOV.

LIKE THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DELEGATION OF THE POLISH PEOPLES REPUBLIC, COMRADE STRULAK, I WOULD LIKE TO DWELL ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE ABOVE DRAFT AGREEMENT. WE WILL NOT, ON THIS OCCASION, MENTION THE PROVISIONS ON THE MEANING OF THE AGREEMENT FOR ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, AND IN PARTICULAR FOR THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH PARTICIPATE IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPECIAL STATUS, WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN MENTIONED IN THE SPEECH OF THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF BULGARIAN PEOPLES REPUBLIC, COMRADE DICHEV.

OUR GENERAL APPROCH TO THE PROBLEM OF THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IS THAT THE REDUCTION MUST COVER ALL TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE ALREADY AGREED REGION OF CENTRAL EUROPE. IT IS GENERALLY KNOWN THAT THE ARMED FORCES IN THE ABOVE

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REGION ARE COMPOSED OF NATIONAL AS WELL AS FOREIGN GROUND FORCES, AIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS INCUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, ALL THESE COMPONENTS IN THEIR TOTALITY REPRESENT ONE UNIFIED SYSTEM.

UNITY IN THE ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND THEIR ARMAMENTS IS BASED ON THE CLOSE INTERACTION OF TROOPS OF ALL

TYPES OF ARMS OF SERVICE. HAVING IN MIND THE INDIVISIBILITY OF ALL THESE ELEMENTS, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO BEING THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION, AS OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT PROPOSES, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. IN THE OPINION OF THE DELEGATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, IT IS NOT A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE FOR SECURITY IN EUROPE WHETHER THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AFFECTS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING THE ARMED FORCES OF SUCH POWERFUL COUNTRIES AS THE FRG AND GREAT BRITAIN.

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OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 151843Z NOV 73

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

THEREFORE, THE ARGUMENT OF SOME WESTEN DELEGATIONS THAT REDUCTION IN THE FIRST STAGE SHOULD START WITH THE ARMED FORCES OF ONLY TWO PARTICIPANTS IN THE FUTURE AGREEMENT SEEMS TO US UNCONVINCING. IN OUR VIEW, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO MAKE THE ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF ALL STATES-PARTICIPANTS IN THE FUTURE AGREEMENT,WITHOUT EXCEPTION, WHICH HAVE TROOPS DEPLOYED IN THE AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE SUBJECT TO REDUCTION FROM THE VERY BEGINNING.

AS IS WELL KNOWN, IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF 28 JUNE, 1973, IT WAS STATED THAT "...SPECIFIC MEASURES MUST BE CAREFULLY WORKED OUT IN SCOPE AND IN TIME IN SUCH A WAY THAT IN ALL RESPECTS AND AT EVERY POINT THEY CONFORM WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES." THE PROVISION CONTAINED IN OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT THAT THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION SHOULD BEGIN WITH ALL TYPES CONFIDENTIAL

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OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH THE ABOVE UNDERSTANDING.

ATTEMPTS TO CONCENTRATE ATTENTION OR TO EXAGGERATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ONLY ONE TYPE OF ARMED FORCES AND TO EXAMINE IT IN ISOLATION, SEPARATELY FROM THE OTHERS, AND TO PROPOSE THE REDUCTION OF ONLY ONE TYPE OF ARMED FORCES WITHOUT AFFECTING OTHER TYPES ARE WITHOUT FOUNDATION AND CONTRADICT THE ABOVE UNDERSTANDING RECORDED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. SUCH AN APPROACH IN FACT AMOUNTS TO AN

ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN A UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE, WHICH CONTRADICTS THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF 28 JUNE, 1973, IT IS INDICATED THAT THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONSULTATIONS HAD AGREED ON THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SECURE THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND CAREFUL APPROACH TO THE EXAMINATION OF THE QUESTIONS UNDER DISCUSSION, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THEIR COMPLICATED CHARACTER.

OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT, WHICH IS IT ARTICLE 3 ENVISAGES AN EFFECTIVE AND AT THE SAME TIME SIMPLE METHOD OF SOLVING THE TASK SET BEFORE US, FULLY CONFORMS WITH THIS PROVISION.

IT IS PROPOSED TO CARRY OUT THE REDUCTION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ON THE BASIS OF APPROXIMATE SIMILARITY OF ARMS OF SERVICE AND TYPES OF THE UNITS TO BE REDUCED BY MEANS OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF DISBANDMENT OF ENTIRE TANK AND MECHANIZED INFANTRY FORMATIONS (DIVISION, BRIGADE) AND UNITS (REGIMENT, BATTALION), UNITS OF COMBAT AVIATION (GROUP, WING, SQUADRON), ARTILLERY, MISSILE AND ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILE UNITS, SUPPORTING UNITS (REGIMENT, BATTALION, BATTERY) AND ALSO UNITS AND DETACHMENTS EQUIPPED WITH ATOMIC WEAPONS.

BY SIMILARITY OF ARMS OF SERVICE WE UNDERSTAND THE REDUCTION OF SUCH FORMATIONS, UNITS AND DETACHMENTS OF ANY TYPE OF ARMED FORCES OF ARM OF SERVICE, WITH CORRESPONDING ARMAMENTS, AS ARE EQUAL TO ONE ANOTHER IN NUMERICAL STRENGTH AND ARMAMENT. THIS MEANS THAT, FOR EXAMPLE, SQUADRON FOR SQUADRON OF COMBAT AVIATION SHOULD BE MUTUALLY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY REDUCED. BY SIMILARITY OF TYPE IS MEANT THE APPROXIMATELY EQUIVALENT TYPE, CALIBRE, ETC. OF WEAPONS SUBJECT TO REDUCTION. FOR EXAMPLE -- AN ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER FOR AN ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER OF ROUGHLY EQUIVALENT TYPE, AN INTERCEPTOR

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AIRCRAFT FOR AN AIRCRAFT OF THE SAME DESIGNATION, ETC.

THE SPECIFIC COMPLEMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS TO BE SUBJECT TO REDUCTION BY EACH PARTICIPANT STATE WOULD BE THE SUBJECT

OF A SPECIAL PROTOCOL, WHICH WOULD BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE AGREEMENT.

THE METHOD PROPOSED BY US OF DETERMINING THE ARMS OF SERVICE AND TYPES OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS SUBJECT TO REDUCTION FULLY CONFORMS WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION. ANY OTHER APPROACH ARISING FROM ATTEMPTS TO COMPARE FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW TROOPS OF TYPES AND ARMS OF SERVICE WHICH CANNOT BE COMPARED, AND THEIR ARMAMENTS, WOULD ONLY CREATE GREAT DIFFICULTIES AND COULD HINDER THE ATTAINMENT OF AN UNDERSTANDING.

IN TABLING OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT, WE ALSO TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE

IMPORTANCE OF SECURING THE FULFILMENT BY THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THEM, WHICH, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THE MEANS OF CARRYING OUT THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS ENVISAGED IN ARTICLE 3 OF OUR DRAFT PERMIT, IN OUR VIEW, EVERYBODY EASILY TO MAKE SURE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE PARTIES ARE BEING CARRIED OUT.

THE WITHDRAWAL OR DISBANDMENT OF ENTIRE FORMATIONS, UNITS AND DETACHMENTS OF SIMILAR ARMS OF SERVICE WITH THE CORRESPONDING ARMAMENTS INDISPUTABLY CREATES GOOD CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE AND RELATIVELY SIMPLE VERIFICATION, AS ENVISAGED IN ARTICLE 7 OF THE PRESENT DRAFT AGREEMENT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE PROPOSED FOR DISCUSSION A SPECIFIC AND COMPREHENSIVE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE BUSINESSLIKE APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS OF WHICH WE ALL EXPRESSED OURSELVES IN FAVOR MEANS IN OUR VIEW THE DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, A WEEK HAS PASSED AND WE HAVE, AS YET, NOT HEARD FROM OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES ANY COMMENTS OR OPINIONS ON THE ABOVE DRAFT. DURING THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS WE ALWAYS FOUND, ALTHOUGH IT WAS OFTEN NOT SO SIMPLE, AN APPROPRIATE SOLUTION IN JOINT DIALOGUE. WE ARE THEREFORE SOMEWHAT SURPRISED  
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THAT NOW, WHEN WE HAVE SET ABOUT EXAMINING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM, THIS ESSENTIAL DIALOGUE IS MISSING.

THE CZECH DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT YET AGAIN THAT WE ARE READY TO COOPERATE IN A BUSINESSLIKE WAY WITH ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN SEARCH OF A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE CONCRETE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, IN KEEPING WITH THE DESIRES OF THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE.

END TEXT.HUMES

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 12 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NEGOTIATIONS, TROOP REDUCTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 15 NOV 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** mcintyresh  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** mcintyresh  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 13 JUL 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <13-Jul-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <23-Aug-2001 by mcintyresh>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: TEXT OF CZECH STATEMENT IN PLENARY OF NOVEMBER 15, 1973  
**TAGS:** PARM, CZ, NATO, MBFR  
**To:** STATE  
SECDEF INFO NATO BRUSSELS  
BONN  
LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005